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Vol. XIX, No. 2 January 13, 1962 Section I — News

JFK: *He wants a new image* .....(17)

NELSON: *A rockier road ahead?* .....(17)

KATANGA: *"Big money lobby" smear* .....(18)

UN BONDS *These we can do without* .....(18)

FRANCE: *What de Gaulle is thinking* .....(19)

A "New Kennedy": Last January, President Kennedy outlined what he intended to do, in an inaugural address that was full of promises, if not of promise. This January he paints a considerably different picture by means of authorized statements from his winter headquarters at Palm Beach. The result is long and detailed newspaper stories from that resort, variously quoting unnamed friends of the President, or other anonymous sources. The simultaneous appearance in print of these articles is a plain indication of their genesis: they had full White House authorization and to all intents and purposes the reporters got their guidance from Kennedy himself.

The most sympathetic comparison of the two January statements is that after his first year the young Chief Executive is notably less cocksure about his ability to lead the nation into continued peace and prosperity. He is no longer, his own picturization goes, the flaming liberal of a year ago. Now he portrays himself as a "progressive," but a middle-of-the-road one. A friendly newspaper editorializes that his statement epitomizes "caution." According to members of Congress back in Washington for the new session, public reaction to the one-year-older "New Kennedy" should also be one of caution.

Kennedy's caution now may well change to something more assertive if his present propitiating course pays dividends in congressional action. Ultra-leftish elements among his supporters will not permit him to follow the middle of the road longer than political motives dictate. In fact, these "extremists" are already howling.

Enigma in Albany: As the New Year begins, GOP politicos continue to exhibit long faces about the New York situation, despite a burst of brave talk from friends of Governor Rockefeller. As a result of his expected divorce, a big question mark stands next to Rocky's name as a contender for the 1964 GOP nomination.

So far as the Governor's official statements are concerned, nothing has changed. He did say a week ago that he would not promise to fill out a four-year term if re-elected—but that is what he has been saying for some time.

Nothing has changed—except possibly for the worse. What the Republican pros feared from the beginning seems to be appearing. In the past week the gossip columnists have begun their characteristic work—probably basing their stories on irresponsible rumors. But, true or not, these feed the fire which could destroy the Governor as a national leader. Meanwhile, morale among Rocky's brain-trusters—who "create" his "image"—reportedly continues to lower.

This situation helps explain the appearance from Rocky zealots of a spate of stories designed to minimize the political effects of his personal problem. "He's still in the race," they say.

Pollster George Gallup—as HUMAN EVENTS reported on November 17, 1961—warns the GOP it cannot win in '64 unless it nominates a "liberal." Who? Rockefeller, of course. Last week Gallup released a "poll" (the exact nature of which he does not disclose) purporting to show that Republicans, after cooling a bit on Rocky just after news of the divorce, now are rallying to him; and that Goldwater stock, after a brief upturn, now descends. Rocky is ahead of the Arizonan—so says Gallup from Princeton, New Jersey.

So far as Washington, D. C., is concerned, even Goldwater critics concede that as of today the Arizonan is the front-runner among GOP pros in the whole country. HUMAN EVENTS in October, 1961, ran a poll based on signed ballots from GOP 1960 convention delegates which showed Goldwater way ahead of both Nixon and Rocky. Nothing has happened to alter this picture, unless possibly in Goldwater's favor.

Naturally, this does not mean that the Arizonan is a sure thing in '64. Too many imponderables blur the future.

But as the New Year dawns and talk increases about the so-called "conservative upsurge," few

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political analysts will seriously deny the fact that the GOP front-runner as of today is a conservative. Antics of pollsters and capers of columnists cannot long obscure this significant picture.

"Katanga Lobby" Smear: Cutting through the liberal press and State Department smear of the "big money Katanga lobby" is the knowledge—right out of Attorney General Robert Kennedy's July, 1961, report on foreign lobby spending—that 61 other nations are doing in the United States what Katanga is being condemned for.

Carl T. Rowan, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, attempted to pin the "crack-pot" label on all who disagree with the Administration's Congo policy by branding them as "those who want to destroy the Supreme Court . . . opponents of fluoridation of water . . . etc." Rowan attacked the "clever, big money campaign" being waged by the Katangans here. The liberal press was quick to snatch up the line and play it big.

The Republican National Committee (whose chairman, William E. Miller, strongly criticized the US-UN role in Katanga) blazed back at Rowan. It noted that former President Hoover, Arthur Krock of the New York *Times*, columnist William S. White, and the Catholic weekly *America* are Katanga policy critics. "Does Mr. Rowan's characterization of Administration critics fit them?" the committee wondered.

> **The truth is that Bobby Kennedy's report—which Mr. Rowan may or may not be familiar with—shows that the $140,000 "big money" Katanga lobby is small peanuts. Sixty-one nations reported spending over $9 million in 1960 for lobbying purposes through tourist and information offices. And this money does not include fees paid American law firms for services rendered.**

For example, French National Railroads reported $426,497 spent during the year. The French broadcasting systems and the French government tourist offices reported almost a million dollars between them. The information service of India (now working feverishly to eradicate the bad taste of Goa) reported $305,746.

What makes the Katanga smear doubly hypocritical are the Attorney General's own words in the report. Kennedy stated that "the largest source of political propaganda disseminated within the United States continues to be, as it has for the past several years, the official foreign government information and tourist offices whose principal activities are designed to create good will toward their respective countries, promote tourism, trade and investment, and represent their governments' position on various international issues."

In other words, foreign lobbying in the United States is a noble venture not calling for glaring exposes of "big money spending"—except in the case of anti-Red Katanga.

Labor Boss Challenge: In Ohio, signs indicate that the labor bosses are seeking to enforce their will in the upcoming November elections in a manner reminiscent of their performance 12 years ago. In 1950, the tycoons of the union halls mounted a violent and well-financed campaign to defeat the bid of Senator Robert A. Taft for re-election. The voters rebuked them, giving Taft a majority of over 400,000.

In 1962, the union mouthpieces are already assailing State Representative Robert A. Taft, Jr.—son of the late Senator—who seeks to win the Congressman-at-large seat this November. The AFL-CIO *News and Views* attacks young Taft's legislative record because he did not go down the line for the union "welfare state" measures and for a Fair Employment Practices bill.

This union barrage has reinforced conservatives' interest in "Bobby" Taft's political ambitions. In HUMAN EVENTS *on December 22, it was reported that Ohio deems young Taft more conservative than his late father.*

But the labor bosses go further; they are mounting a sort of across-the-board anti-conservative campaign, taking on not only the young inheritor of the Taft tradition in the GOP, but also the prominent Democratic conservative, Senator Frank J. Lausche, who is running for re-election next fall. The AFL-CIO organ lays it on the line as follows: "US Senator Frank J. Lausche of Ohio runs as a Democrat, gets elected as a Democrat, but votes as a Republican." The union publication points out that on 115 test votes in the 1961 congressional session, Lausche "voted with the Republican majority on more than half (67%) of the partisan test votes; voted with the Democratic majority on only 27% of the test roll calls."

In Ohio, it is considered significant (but not surprising) that young Taft did not choose to run against Senator Lausche this year. It is recalled that Lausche reportedly voted for Senator Robert A. Taft in 1950 when the labor bosses sought to block his re-election. Lausche has shown great independence of labor union oligarchy both in Ohio and in the US Senate.

Thus, this coming election year will see a showdown between conservatives of both parties and the union boss power. "Union boss abuse of Frank J. Lausche and Robert A. Taft, Jr., will be an ugly feature of the 1962 political campaign in Ohio," remarks Fred J. Milligan of the conservative Ohio Information Committee which claims 3,000 precinct representatives in 85 counties and which is "nonpartisan," "independent" and "concentrates on political action in the precincts among independent voters."

UN Bond Issue: Few doubt that the Administration's forthcoming request to Congress to authorize purchase of up to $100 million of the $200 million UN bond issue will meet heavy opposition.

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Senator Harry Flood Byrd (D.-Va.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, last week flatly rejected the UN proposal to solve its many financial problems, including the expenses of the Congo action, through the bond issue. Byrd noted that Russia and many other UN members are well behind in their payments for UN upkeep. "If they don't pay anything else," said Byrd, "why should they pay for the bonds? I think we'll just end up paying for the UN's other expenses and the bonds too."

Representative Edward J. Derwinski (R.-Ill.) will introduce legislation to prohibit the United States from purchasing UN bonds. Derwinski said that "in view of the huge deficit, the continued outflow of gold, the backbreaking tax burden that is being perpetuated upon our citizens, the purchase of $100 million of UN bonds, with their problematical value as well as their artificially low interest rate, is pure irresponsibility. It would only be another tragic chapter in the vacillating, fumbling, confused and misdirected foreign policy which the Kennedy Administration seems so intent on practicing."

Congress is also expected to cast a wary eye at some expected top-level UN shifts. The AP reports from UN headquarters that there is increasing pressure from Communist and "uncommitted" Afro-Asian countries for a greater number of top policy posts. A Czech Communist, for instance, is expected to take over from a Nationalist Chinese as chief of an important department. Two Africans will become heads of other departments, and so on.

Therefore, the US, paying the bills, faces the prospect of steadily increasing UN control by enemy and "neutralist" nations.

Mind of de Gaulle: What the Tall General says to his aides in the Elysee Palace (the French White House) occasionally leaks out, giving a more pointed and detailed picture of the French "die-hard" policy which seems to have brought Khrushchev to a standstill (despite appeasement efforts by London and Washington). Some of his views:

(1) Contrary to the general impression, de Gaulle is not convinced that Britain should be allowed to join the Common Market. He says of Britain, "It's an historically proven disturbing element in any European alliance."

(2) "Washington" is a bad word to the French leader. Although he highly respects the potential "stamina" and "firmness" of the American people, he is scornful of the JFK Administration, which he terms "unreliable," "infantile" and "undependable." Thus, for him, America without real leadership is an "internationally apathetic mass."

(3) He continues to blame London and Washington for the failure in preventing the sealing off of East Berlin. In July, after receiving an intelligence analysis from his men in Moscow, he warned Kennedy that the way to handle Khrushchev was to "show some muscle" about the Berlin crisis. De Gaulle believes that if we had followed his advice we could have ended the Berlin crisis and the "wall would not have risen." But Macmillan and Kennedy believed that by very strong words and no action, the Kremlin could be "mellowed."

(4) As a result of such disillusion with Washington, de Gaulle will not leave French forces under NATO control. "It is up to the Germans," says de Gaulle, "and ourselves to consolidate Europe and that's all that matters." Meanwhile he and the German generals will work hard at missiles and rockets, to build up European strength which, it is hoped, will render Europe very strong by 1964.

(5) De Gaulle interprets the Macmillan-Kennedy diplomatic thinking on Berlin as purely political, for home consumption. London and Washington can get, and will get, guarantees of Western treaty rights in West Berlin from Moscow. Thus, they will be able to offer "something" to voters at home, to win elections and remain in power. This end result, de Gaulle considers, will actually be "a hollow spectacle." It may impress "impressionable" Americans, but not Europeans. To the latter, Berlin is less important, except as a part of a unified Germany; and the latter is important as a part of a unified Europe.

Menshikov: A prominent conservative columnist, David Lawrence, devoted much space last week attacking retiring Soviet Ambassador (to the US) Menshikov. He recalled that the Russian had been one of Stalin's most vicious agents in the subduing of anti-Communist resistance to the Moscow takeover in Poland following the end of the war. The columnist expressed wonder that in Washington no mention of Menshikov's Stalinist record was made, nor criticism directed at this Ambassador, although reams of newscopy have been published in this country reporting how Communists the world over have been denouncing Stalinism.

But Lawrence reserved the sharpest edge of his knife of satire for those in Washington who turned out to attend a farewell party in the Soviet Embassy for the retiring Stalinist. "One wonders if moral indignation has become obsolete."

As usual, many unthinking social climbers in the Capital attended the function. But, among the US officials prominently mentioned and photographed was Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas with his wife. Fulbright has taken the lead among Administration stalwarts (see his

JAMES BANNON, Editor in Chief, Ball State NEWS, Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana: "We deeply appreciate reading a fresh conservative outlook on world events. In many instances, HUMAN EVENTS helps mold our editorial policy."

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"Memorandum") in criticism of those (like General Walker) who emphasize the devious and lethal nature of the Communist conspiracy.

Historian Speaks: Professor Samuel Flagg Bemis, president of the American Historical Association, startled Washington last week by casting doubt on several doctrines long cherished and propagated by the internationalists and their organs such as the New York *Times*. In that very newspaper, a staff special report from Washington gave Bemis' heterodox views.

Bemis noted that the prevailing thinking of American policy makers has been that (1) there would have been no World War I if Germany had known that the United States would enter that war; (2) that there would have been no World War II if the US had joined the League of Nations; and (3) therefore, with the US now allied with 44 other nations, the Red powers would know better than to start another world war.

Bemis retorted: "It is not at all certain that what might—or might not—have stayed Imperial Germany in 1914, or given pause to Hitler's Germany in 1939, will now stay Khrushchev and/or Red China" from waging another world war or winning without war by softening up the Western nations.

"Whether our new alliances," says Bemis, "marshal united power at home and abroad and morale sufficient to stop the new aggressors is indeed a vital question." But Bemis questioned whether money could be "substituted for foresight, for work, pride, sacrifice, courage or valor, either in the giver or taker. And does not a policy of containment by its very nature yield the initiative to the revolutionary aggressor?"

What is lacking is not "national purpose." US national purpose, he said, is clearly stated in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. But what is lacking, he said, is a consciousness of that purpose and the will to preserve the blessings of freedom at all costs, adding that, "In self-study and self-indulgence we have been losing sight of our national purpose rather than failing to have one."

Capitol Camera: Representative Joe D. Waggonner, Jr., a conservative Democrat newly elected to the Louisiana seat of the late Overton Brooks, says that in his first term he will concentrate his legislative efforts "to force an end to all aid to Communist dominated and Communist oriented countries."

• *Is Britain doing an about-face and stiffening its cold war stand? Strong hints of such a change are being pieced together in Washington. British Foreign Secretary Lord Home has been vehemently pro-Western in his condemnation of the Katanga and Goa debacles. Sir Winston Churchill raised Moscow's ire with a New Year's warning of darkening world peril. Upcoming British policy may put some steel into floundering New Frontier policies.*

• Portugal's Catholic-Monarchist newspaper *Voz* was highly critical last week of *Time's* selection of JFK as "Man of the Year." "Can that magazine really be serious?" it asked. "As far as we see it, the United States policy has contributed very efficiently toward setting the world ablaze. Even their better class papers admit that."

• *Long Island Republican Congressman Frank J. Becker last week called India's invasion of Goa "shocking", and questioned our mammoth aid program to that country. Becker said he felt that "President Kennedy owes the American public an explanation of why we continue to send our funds to a nation which repays us in the coin of treachery."*

• The New York *Herald Tribune* last week credited Washington public relations man (and former State Department security official) Frank L. Kluckhohn with a major role in the resignation of State security chief Salvatore A. Bontempo (see January 6 HUMAN EVENTS). Kluckhohn criticized Bontempo in his recently published paperback *Listen: America!* The book is highly critical of the New Frontier and ADA-ers in high places.

• *Military circles are now alarmed at reports that the Pakistan government is playing footsie with the Chinese Reds. The Pakistanis reportedly feel they need assistance from the Reds against an eventual aggression from India and are convinced that the US—judging by our soft handling of Nehru in the Goa matter—will not give it to them.*

• Diplomatic Row in Washington increasingly believes that the rebuff to Red China in the UN was a hollow victory by the "free" nations: that it was the Soviet behind-the-scenes attitude that kept Peiping from getting a UN seat. They say Zorin, the Soviet delegate, let it be known discreetly to all the followers of the USSR in the UN that they could vote for, against or simply abstain, according to their own lights. In short, Moscow chose not to exercise any real pressure on those nations in the UN which usually yield when Moscow insists and applies the whip. Moscow certainly did not crack the whip.

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HUMAN EVENTS
--- COMMENTARY ---

Right is right though all men be against it and wrong is wrong though all men vote for it.
—Dr. Howard E. Kershner

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January 13, 1962

The REA Co-Ops Grow Too Bold

From the Chicago Tribune

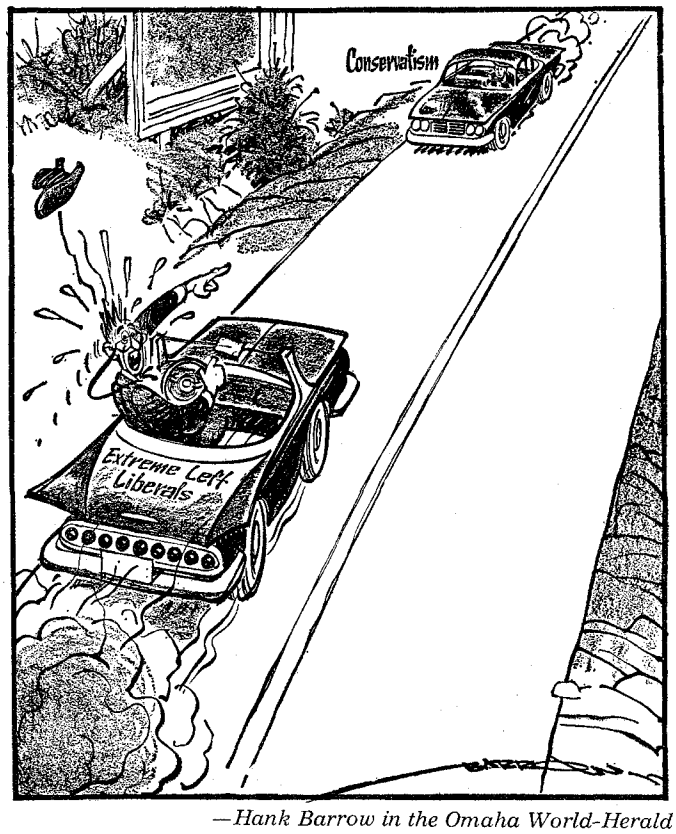
WHEN CONGRESS set up the Rural Electrification Administration a quarter of a century ago, public power proponents maintained the purpose was to bring electricity to farmers and others in rural areas who could not get it from private power companies. At that time only about one in every 10 farmers had electric service. Revenues of the private utilities did not justify vast expenditures for lines to serve all potential customers in the sparsely populated rural areas.

Under the REA, co-operatives were organized with the aid of Federal subsidies in the form of long-term, low-cost loans to speed the building of rural electric lines. The co-ops bought their power at low wholesale rates from private utilities serving the rest of the region.

Today virtually all farms are electrified, and the character of the rural electric co-operatives is changing significantly. Encouraged by the public power policies of the Kennedy Administration, the co-ops no longer are serving only rural customers. With the aid of 2 per cent loans from the REA, they are expanding into suburban, city and industrial areas, invading territories served by investor-owned utilities which do not enjoy the co-operatives' advantage of Federal subsidies and income tax exemption.

Now more than half of the electricity sold by co-operatives organized under the guidance of the REA goes to other than farm customers, and four of five new customers or new members being gained by the co-ops are urban, commercial or industrial users. Some co-operatives are applying for huge REA loans to build their own generating plants. Three southern Illinois co-operatives, for example, have obtained a $25-million loan to finance construction of a plant at Sparta, Randolph County.

These activities have brought strong protests from the investor-owned companies. They point out that the co-operatives are going far beyond their original purpose of bringing electricity to farmers and are now in the public utility business. Allen Van Wyck, president of the Illinois Power Company, Decatur, has called attention to the REA policy of assisting rural co-ops in their raids on industrial customers by offering 2 per cent loans to companies willing to move and build a plant to be served by a co-operative.



—Hank Barrow in the Omaha World-Herald

"The citizens of the communities we serve may lose these industries that are being lured away by cheap government money, while at the same time they are actually paying the taxes that supply the bait," he said.

The investor-owned utilities in this state have petitioned the Illinois Commerce Commission to rule that the rural co-operatives are public utilities subject to the same regulations that apply to the private companies. This would impose territorial limitations on the co-operatives that would prevent them from invading areas served by other utilities. The request of the investor-owned utilities is reasonable and taxpayers, both Federal and local, should support it; for it is just and in their interest.

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Bartlett's Unfamiliar Quotations

By VICTOR LASKY

(Editor's Note: HUMAN EVENTS on November 17, 1961, described the White House luncheon given for 18 Texas newspaper editors, at which E. M. "Ted" Dealey, Dallas *Morning News* editor, expressed sharp disagreement with the President's policies. Below is a follow-up story by Victor Lasky which tells how the Administration is trying to revise the tale for the history books.)

IS THE WHITE HOUSE engaged in rewriting history in order to make President John F. Kennedy look good? Are the New Frontier's image makers now imitating their counterparts in the Kremlin to make their boy look good?

Specifically, did the White House remold the facts of what actually transpired at the now famous Presidential luncheon tendered in late October to a group of Texas editors and publishers?

DEALEY

This was the luncheon at which E. M. "Ted" Dealey, publisher of the Dallas *Morning News,* told President Kennedy to his face that he and his Administration appeared to be "weak sisters."

The luncheon was one of a series at which President Kennedy has been entertaining statewide groups of publishers and editors. Presumably, the luncheons enable Kennedy to provide his guests with an off-the-record low-down on foreign affairs. In return, the President hopes to be filled in on grass roots sentiment. For, as he put it, he feels isolated in the White House and wants to know what the people are thinking.

And what with wine, French cuisine and Presidential witticisms, the luncheons have generally been pleasant little social affairs. About all that was missing were strolling violinists.

Then Mr. Dealey showed up—on invitation, of course. And when asked his opinion, he pulled out a 500-word statement which he began to read.

"The general opinion of the grass-roots thinking in this country is that you and your Administration are weak sisters," Mr. Dealey intoned. "Particularly is this true in Texas right now."

The President's face flushed. His smile disappeared. The other guests cringed in embarrassment. But Mr. Dealey continued reading.

The American people, he told JFK, were "aroused and rightly so" about Khrushchev and were opposed to symptoms of aid and comfort flowing his way from Washington. "They do not want to see this nation make any concessions to Russia," he said.

Then, in a remark which has since been misinterpreted by Liberal viewers-with-alarm, Mr. Dealey said that "we need a man on horseback to lead this nation," a phrase not used in its usual depiction of dictatorship, but implying the need for leadership "from strength, not from weakness," as befits a great nation far more powerful than the USSR.

Continuing to address the President, Mr. Dealey added that "many people in Texas and the southwest think that you are riding Caroline's tricycle."

The statement, in Dealey's words, "caused sort of a ruckus."

"But," as he told newsmen right after the luncheon, "the President assured me that he was not mad."

All Mr. Kennedy did, in fact, was to turn to his press secretary, Pierre Salinger, and say half-jestingly, "Don't subscribe to (Mr. Dealey's) paper. I'm tired of reading its editorials."

"But I have to read them," Salinger replied.

Only later, on reflection, did JFK get mad. For the Dealey statement, which has bluntly summed up what a lot of people were thinking, had definitely tarnished the Kennedy "image."

Something had to be done.

Charles Bartlett, Washington correspondent of the Chattanooga *Times,* was called in. A longtime *confidante* of the President, Mr. Bartlett had, in fact, introduced Mr. Kennedy to Mrs. Kennedy. He is always turning up as the guest of the President at such places as Hyannis Port, Massachusetts.

At any rate, Bartlett was provided with an exclusive fill-in on what President Kennedy supposedly said when he told off Ted Dealey. Bartlett, who was not present at the luncheon, used exact quotations even though no one is supposed to quote the President at these affairs.

Thus, 10 days after the unique luncheon, Bartlett's story was published on the front page of the Chattanooga paper, a sister paper of the New York *Times.* According to his story "the President's reply, a spontaneous expression of his basic philosophy, has been partially reconstructed from the recollections of some of those who were present."

According to Bartlett, the President, after being challenged for the first time at his own table, replied in a low voice that everyone is entitled to his own opinions in this country and that this was a healthy thing.

"But the difference between you and me, Mr. Dealey," Bartlett quoted Kennedy as saying, "is that I was elected President of this country and

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you were not and I have the responsibility for the lives of 180 million Americans, which you have not."

Then Kennedy was quoted as remarking that men tend to like the idea of war until they have tasted it, but that they quickly get enough of it. "Wars are easier to talk about than they are to fight," the President was further quoted as saying. "I'm just as tough as you are, Mr. Dealey. And I didn't get elected by arriving at soft judgments."

These were indeed Presidential remarks designed for the history books. And, needless to say, they obtained wider currency than the statement which had prompted them. For example, the New York *Times,* which had ignored the Dealey statement, published a full account of the Bartlett story.

But the big question is: When did the President make his forthright reply to Mr. Dealey?

Mr. Dealey has absolutely no recollection of the President uttering any of the remarks attributed to him by Bartlett. And Mr. Dealey is a pretty good reporter, having spent 46 years in the newspaper business.

"I think that the whole story was cooked up by the Administration and by Bartlett stating what Kennedy wanted to say to me in rebuttal to my statement, but which he did not say at the time," Mr. Dealey informed this writer.

"I think the other 18 Texas publishers who were present at the luncheon will back me up in saying that President Kennedy did not make any such remarks as attributed to him by Mr. Bartlett."

Though aware of the close relations between the President and Mr. Bartlett, Mr. Dealey believes that the episode demonstrates "pretty sorry newspapering."

Perhaps it demonstrates something more important: the lengths to which the Kennedy Administration will go in order to keep the "image" of the President untarnished.

Just between us extremists, President Kennedy once had some good words to say in behalf of those who dared to criticize their government. Milburn Akers of the Chicago *Sun-Times* recalls that, in his book, *Profiles in Courage,* Kennedy praised men who "spoke and voted their convictions irrespective of the temper of the times."

—M. Stanton Evans, Editor, Indianapolis News

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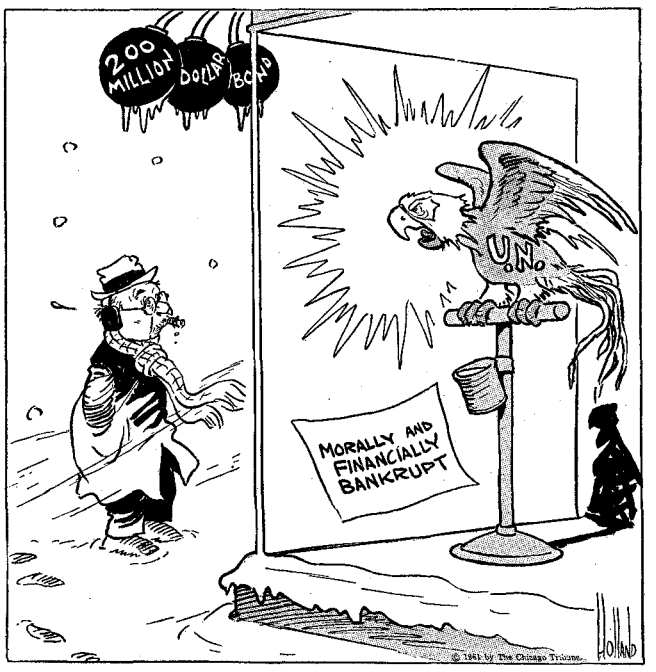

UN on Last Legs?

From the New York Daily News

Tonight we are witnessing the first act in the drama that could lead to the death of the United Nations.

UN Ambassador Adlai Stevenson made that remark after Soviet Russia had used its Security Council veto power to kill a proposed resolution urging an end to Nehru's grab of Portugal's little 400-year-old holdings in India.

British Foreign Secretary Lord Home (pronounced Hume) is talking in the same vein.

He says the UN will "sow the seeds of its own destruction" if it stops being strictly a peace-making world group and takes to spurring independence movements and fighting colonialism all over the map. Home is talking about the UN's military operations in the former Belgian Congo.

There is plenty of history to back Stevenson's and Home's misgivings about the UN. The old League of Nations set sail January 10, 1920, and sank beneath the waves April 18, 1946, after willing its property to the new United Nations. What eventually killed the League, mainly, was its inability to stop Japan's 1931-32 inroads in China and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini's 1935 attack on Ethiopia.

If the UN can't keep a second-rate power like India from pulling a petty land-grab, what chance has the UN of preventing a big war?

And if the UN can't prevent war, which it was set up in 1945 to do, what reason remains for its existence?

The moral for the United States in all this, we'd say, is to keep our powder dry and keep increasing its quantity and quality.

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California Court Rules Against Machinst

From the Weekly Labor Forecast and Review

A labor union cannot restrict its members' right to advocate their views different from those supported by the union, according to a recent ruling of the California District Court of Appeals, 2nd District.

The Court so ruled in Mitchell vs. International Association of Machinists. The suit was brought by two union members who had been expelled for "conduct unbecoming a member because they advocated adoption of a proposed California right-to-work law to which the union was officially and actively opposed. The two members made speeches and distributed literature favoring the right-to-work proposal, but did not purport to represent the union on this issue.

The union contended that it is a voluntary private organization and has the right to determine its membership and to expel any members it considers obnoxious for any reason. It pointed out that the two expelled members are still working at their old jobs and it has made no effort to have them discharged. The expelled members contended that they have the right to express their political views and at the same time remain members of the union. A lower court upheld the union's position and denied the petition for reinstatement.

On appeal by the two expelled members, the appellate court thought it important "to begin by dispelling two troublesome illusions." "The first," it said, "is that unions are purely voluntary organizations like Republicans, Democrats, Elks, and church groups. A modern labor union, both in structure and in function, bears little resemblance to other voluntary associations." Among other differences, the Court noted, "a large part of their power and authority is derived from government which makes it exclusive bargaining agent." Consequently, the Court said, "the union's power, when considered together with its source, imposes upon it reciprocal responsibilities toward its membership and the public generally that other voluntary organizations do not bear."

The second troublesome illusion, the Court said, is "that the only value in membership is job retention," and that the expelled members have no complaint since they have not lost their jobs. The Court noted that there is an everpresent threat of loss of their current or future jobs because of their explusion, and that the expelled member loses his "financial stake in the strike fund, perhaps a pension fund, and other funds to which he has contributed." Furthermore, the expelled member is denied the right to participate in his own union's "government" although he is compelled by law to let it represent him and to determine his wages and employment conditions.

The Court concluded that the interests of the individual and the public in free political expression outweigh the interests of the union in maintaining a solid political front and that it would be against public policy to permit a union to expel members for expressing their political views. Accordingly, it reversed the decision of the lower court and upheld the expelled members' petition for reinstatement in the Machinists union.

Child Prodigality

From the Richmond [Va.] News-Leader

Amost everyone has seen pictures of the youth brigades that were trained, during the thirties, in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. These old pictures give one a strange sensation of coming-and-going in history. One looks back to see what was obviously about to come. With our hindsight, we recognize prophecy. For all the parades were prophetic. It is impossible to train children to fight, to live for fighting, and then avoid the fighting that is bred into their fibre. The junior warriors with tiny goose-steps turned into the giant warriors who flattened Europe.

On several of TV's news programs, a sight similar to the goose-stepping children was shown last week. A four-year-old boy was photographed, in the Dominican Republic, orating and gesturing with the authentic air of Latin demagoguery. He handled hecklers deftly, he screamed like Fidel, he cajoled like Khrushchev.

This is the new breed of destroyer, already trained to use the main weapon of the cold war —talk. This little boy is a dreadful sign of the times—for he has fellows in Africa, who can mimic Lumumba as he mimics Fidel. The crowds applaud, the exemplars prosper, the students learn their lesson. And, ironically, one of the principal sources of this new destructive power is America—America, that encourages the myth of universally benevolent "revolution," that supports the talkathon at the UN, that feeds and flatters Cheddi Jagans and Bourguibas and Sukarnos.

We have taught the nations that a man does not have to think in order to orate; that partisan "neutralism" can have its voice on any issue; that any scrap of land can become a nation; that cries of "anti-colonialism" can cover any hypocrisy. It does not take a prodigy among four-year-olds to parrot the elder parrots of his tribe. But it takes something perilously close to a death wish for us to encourage these shock troops of tomorrow.

Political power, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement and to fix new disabilities and burdens until all of liberty shall be lost. —*Abraham Lincoln*

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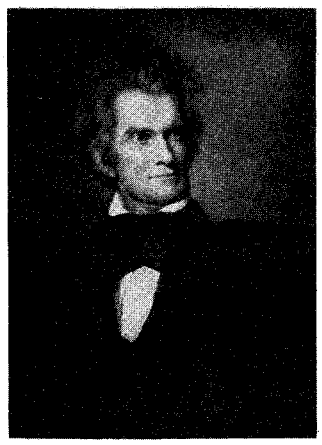
John C. Calhoun's Concurrent Majority

By JAMES MADISON BARR

(Editor's Note: Many Unitarian clergymen are ardent "liberals." An article urging them to reappraise John C. Calhoun's Doctrine of the Concurrent Majority was published some time ago in the *Unitarian Register*. Written by the Rev. James Madison Barr, minister of the First Unitarian Society of Albany, New York, it is reprinted below in slightly condensed form with a few additions supplied by the author.)



JOHN C. CALHOUN

Of South Carolina (1782-1850)

State Legislator—1808-1809
US Representative—1811-1817
Secretary of War—1817-1825
Vice President—1825-1832
US Senator—1832-1843
Secretary of State—1844-1845
US Senator—1845-1850

OUR NATION is now commemorating the centennial of the Civil War. No event in our history carries the emotional impact of that conflict. No circumstance even approaches it in magnitude of issues involved. Yet no fundamental question was resolved when Robert E. Lee quit the field at Appomattox.

The critical issue of the Civil War was freedom. We speak not of slavery, although this was a part of the larger whole. The war was fought over a basic conflict of ideologies still prevalent in our nation and, indeed, in the world: the conflict between the rights of minorities and those of the numerically superior majority. What kind of a government do we have? What kind of Union is this? Is the United States a federation of states, or a nation whose numerical majority can insist upon its will becoming the will of all citizens? These questions were basic to the Civil War. They become relevant today when we ask ourselves: how can we preserve the rights of a minority and at the same time have a government that will keep all its citizens reasonably safe in person and principles?

During the second quarter of the 19th Century, sincere and dedicated men from both North and South watched the caldron boil. They watched and knew as they did so what the result would be. It came in December of 1860, when South Carolina seceded from the Union. For at least 30 years, men had sought to avert what was to be the most terrible and bloody conflict in which the American people ever engaged. One man most interested in a solution, but a solution with dignity for the minority, was to offer the only concrete and workable alternative to numerical majority rule ever presented seriously to the nation. It is about this man and his plan of government that this article is concerned.

LET US GO BACK in history to the year 1865. It is April, and two figures move quietly through the cemetery of St. Philip's Church in Charleston. Arriving at a large monument, they stop and begin to dig into the earth. Shells from Union cannon burst nearby, and fires flare throughout the city. The men keep to their work; finally, through the light cast by the burning city, one can see that they are lifting a casket from the ground. They carry it into the church and down to the cellar. There it is reinterred carefully. The disturbed sod is replaced, and all looks as it did before.

Dawn comes to the besieged city. The monument over the empty grave is clearly visible now; it has but one word inscribed upon it: *Calhoun.* This word is sufficient to identify the final resting place of one of America's most significant and controversial figures.

Later that morning a blue-clad soldier comes to visit the grave. He looks at the bomb spattered ruins of the city around him and says, "The whole South is the grave of John Calhoun." The sexton, who hears the remark, is convinced that he has done well to remove the casket, for he and the entire city have feared that the grave might be violated and the remains desecrated if left where they had been buried. Although he has now been dead for fifteen years, John Calhoun is still among the most hated men in the states north of the Potomac.

I remember a visit made to Charleston when I was a boy. I was told the story of the Union soldier and about slavery and of the remark William Lloyd Garrison made when he visited the grave of Calhoun: "Down into a deeper grave than this, slavery is gone, and for it there is no resurrection." From such stories one might be led to believe that Calhoun was an embittered, cold and bigoted man. Yet, Calhoun was none of these things. Almost more than anyone in the history of our country he fought the good fight for human liberty, and for the rights of the individual and of the minority. Today men are beginning to read what Calhoun said and to

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realize that he spoke not provincial propaganda, limited to the old South, but rather a message of liberty well suited to free men of any age.

This view is shared by others interested in Calhoun and his contributions to our national heritage. C. Gordon Post, professor of political science at Vassar College, wrote in his introduction to the 1953 edition of Calhoun's *Disquisition on Government*:

"In our own day, when men are overwhelmed by a feeling of insignificance and by the complexity of big government, when values are distorted by materialism and man's sense of direction is vague and indistinct, when conformity plays so important a role in the lives of men, when men of good will persistently look to government as a cure-all for social ills, when more and more peoples have succumbed to totalitarian regimes, then it seems right and proper to study Calhoun. For Calhoun thought in terms of man as he is, not as he ought to be, or as Calhoun would have liked him to be; he thought in terms of principle and not in terms of expediency. Granted the unworthiness of the defense of slavery, he nonetheless thought in terms of diversity and not a deadly conformity, and he expressed his thought boldly in behalf of diversity without fear of consequence. He stood forth as a man, an individual, self-poised and free."

John Calhoun believed that man was a social being, that men could not exist without government. But he said that man places his highest value, not on government or social institutions, but on his individuality; his self-interest comes before the social good. Man is selfish, and therefore he must have government to keep order, to save himself from chaos. Societies have developed to preserve and protect men, and government is needed to perfect society. A constitution is also needed.

A CONSTITUTION is a *negative power* against a positive governmental force, in the system designed by Calhoun. The negative power is important to protect the liberty of the minority. In simple majority democracy, one per cent of difference can decide the fate of all—decide their fate *unless* the minority is given protection from the force of majority will. Unitarians clearly know from their own history the need for such minority protection.

Calhoun was not, as is commonly thought, primarily concerned with the issue of slavery. Yet his place in time and space made him a party to the institution and caused him to rise to a defense of the system. His battle for minority rights was fought against the emotional backdrop of New England abolition. The real issue of the day, however, was the rivalry between the manufacturing interests of the North and the agricultural interests of the South over the question of tariffs or free trade. When the numerically superior northern states tried to insist that their point of view become the view of the entire nation, the battle lines were drawn. Calhoun was seeking to protect southern interests and the rights of a minority. Slavery happened to be a part of the society in which he lived.

Calhoun did not believe with Rousseau that man in a natural state is basically good. Calhoun denied that man had ever lived in a state of nature. "He lives," Calhoun said, "in society." He was born into a society, and he must work within the framework of that society. Unfortunately, this is how Calhoun justified slavery. He theorized and, in learning our lesson from him, we must grant that his theory about slavery was wrong.

Let it be noted, however, that Calhoun once granted liberty to a slave—a shoemaker and his entire family. He helped them reach the North in order that they might seek their livelihood there. It was not too long until this family returned to Calhoun, and begged him to take them back into slavery and give them back their home. This family had almost starved to death and, finding it impossible to gain an opportunity for employment in the North, had returned home.

There is another factor in Calhoun's life that is often overlooked. He was an ardent supporter of the Union. This is paradoxical when he is remembered today as the Great Nullifier. He believed to his dying day that the South would be destroyed unless she remained in the Union. But the Union he believed in was a federal union, and because we ourselves have lost sight of what a federal union is, we fail to recall Calhoun's strong defense of it.

His famous toast at a Jefferson Day dinner in 1830 indicates the basic difference in concepts of the nation prevalent then and now. Andrew Jackson was President of the United States, and sat at the head of the banquet table. Calhoun, who was then Vice President, sat at the foot. The two had been in almost mortal combat over the Force Act designed by Jackson and his supporters to make the South obey the tariff regulations recently passed by Congress. Jackson rose to give his toast. All eyes were upon him as he spoke: "Our Union, it must be preserved!" There was great applause. Jackson had thrown down the gauntlet. Now it was Calhoun's turn. He rose slowly from his seat, trembling with emotion. What could he say? He raised his glass and, looking directly into the eyes of Andrew Jackson, spoke these immortal words: "The Union, next to our liberty most dear." Unitarians might write them over every church door in America.

CALHOUN BELIEVED that the South would be absorbed by the North and controlled and governed by northern interests, unless something was done to prevent the North's political domination. The numerical majority would dictate what the numerical minority should do, down to the most minute detail. Has this not been proved by history? Not only to the South, but to the West as well? After the Civil War, the

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North controlled financial affairs in both South and West. Calhoun foresaw this and turned his energies and his great mind against it.

What did Calhoun propose as a remedy for the situation? He set forth the most ingenious political point of view since the framing of the American Constitution: the theory called concurrent majority. Calhoun proposed that the passage of any law which would affect the entire nation should be concurred in by the *major interest groups* within the nation. Thus, before a law about tariff or slavery could be legislated, it must have concurrent approval by the then two dominant interest groups in America: the North and the South. He also advocated the right of nullification by any one group of any law that it found abhorrent to its way of life.

This was Calhoun's answer, and he stuck by it for the last 30 years of his life. In support of it, he became the champion of all minorities. Some have argued that Calhoun was only a champion of a particular minority, a slavocracy. But each person's theories and opinions are formed in the place and time in which he lives. He is subject to the geography and climate of his age. The truth of any person's position and principles must be seen in spite of the local color of his times.

Calhoun found that his point of view had been tried at least twice in history. First, he pointed to the Polish Constitution, a document which gave the veto to each person entitled to vote in the Polish Diet. While Calhoun believed this carried the right of concurrent majority too far, nonetheless he pointed out that the Polish government had survived in this form for more than two centuries. During this time, Poland achieved her greatest power and renown.

Calhoun did not point out, as perhaps he might have, that during this very time Poland was the sanctuary for persecuted religious heretics from western Europe. He also failed to mention that his fellow Unitarians were among these refugees, and established some of the first Unitarian churches in the world, as well as a national university. Neither did Calhoun note that the last Unitarian in the Polish Diet cast his veto against the bill outlawing Unitarianism in Poland and confiscating the property of all who professed that faith. Those who refused to recant were exiled to wander over the face of Europe. Thus, the principle of concurrent majority played an important part in our earliest history as a church.

Calhoun's second example of the concurrent majority was the old Iroquois Federation in America. Each of the six Indian nations that formed it chose one delegate, who could choose six others. Before any final decision could be reached affecting all six nations, all delegates must agree. This seems to be a difficult way to do business; yet, as Calhoun pointed out, instead of making the federation weak and inoperative, it had the opposite effect. It secured harmony in council and a great increase in power; as Calhoun said, "The six nations became the most powerful of all the Indian tribes in our country."

THIS, THEN, is concurrent majority. We can see, as Calhoun did, its obvious difficulties. He realized how much less complex was rule by simple majority. But he also took note of how little liberty one who dissents has under absolute democracy.

Obviously, Calhoun's theory is no cure-all. It is difficult to practice, and becomes more so as the size of an organization increases. Calhoun tended to place too much stock in his theory's effectiveness. The Constitution, which Calhoun said must rule, can do so only as long as enough people want it to. No political law, theory, or organization can guarantee the rights of men. We in America sometimes forget this, passing resolutions and making laws as though we could legislate the decency and dignity of man. It will never be done. We must change men inside if we are to guarantee a commitment to freedom. In our handling of present tensions, let us not make the mistake that was made in Calhoun's time. Let us remember that laws are no stronger than the devotion to them by the men who live under them.

JOHN C. CALHOUN has given much to both America's and our own Unitarian heritage. More than any other Unitarian I know of, he sought to put our religious principles and methods into a workable system of law and government. Some of us today still hold to his opinions. Others in our fellowship feel that it is nonsense to talk of such things as concurrent majority and the right of nullification in a world as complex as ours. As Unitarians, we are true to our tradition by maintaining this difference of opinion about crucial points within our heritage. But I think we all can agree on one idea: no matter what form of government we have, no matter how good or bad the system, all will be of no avail without competent leaders to govern. I bring this visit with Calhoun to a close by quoting his idea of what a legislator for a free people ought to be. This statement reveals the inner integrity of the man, and indicates again why Unitarians, ought to be proud that he chose our church as his religious home:

"I never know what South Carolina thinks of a measure. I never consult her. I act to the best of my judgment and according to my conscience. If she approves well and good. If she does not, and wishes anyone else to take my place, I am ready to vacate. Democracy as I understand it and accept it requires me to sacrifice myself for the masses not to them. Who knows not that if you would save the people you must often oppose them."

Reprints of this three-page article are available: Single copy, 20 cents; 10 for $1; 25 for $2; 100 for $5; 500 for $20; 1,000 for $30. Order by section number and date of issue.

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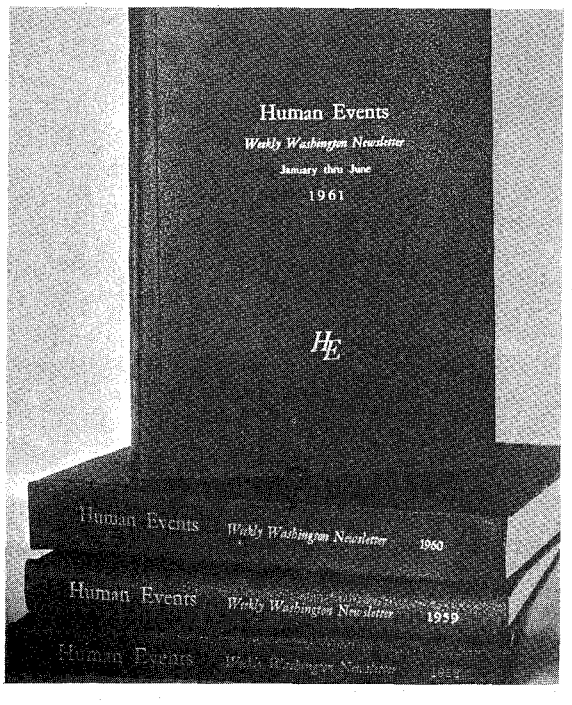

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The New Frontier Throttles Dixie Industry

NLRB Seeks to Halt Factory Trek Southward

IN RECENT YEARS the South has enjoyed tremendous success in its attempts to convert its economy from one based primarily on agriculture to a balanced economy based on both agriculture and industry.

To fully appreciate the progress which has been made requires some knowledge of the historical factors involved. Anyone possessing such knowledge understands when he hears a Southerner speaking in boastful terms of the healthy industrial climate which is attracting more and more industries into the area. Especially since the end of World War II has the South blossomed forth as one of the most profitable areas in the country for both labor and management.

Many factors, of course, must be taken into consideration in determining the location of a new factory or new industry, and advantages which under normal circumstances would be controlling can be neutralized by the slightest change in government policy.

During the past year there have been several actions by the national government which have had the effect of hampering the further steady industrialization of the South. One such action is the decision by the National Labor Relations Board in the recent case involving Daniel Construction Company, Inc., of Greenville, South Carolina. This company has operations extending throughout the Southeast and is engaged primarily in building industrial and commercial plants. Its workers are hired on a temporary basis at the job site and the duration of the employment is dependent on the length of time necessary to complete the project under construction. This type work is highly seasonal in nature.

Under these circumstances, where a person might work for the company only once in a lifetime and then for only a brief period of time, the difficulties attending a wide-scale unionization effort become apparent.

On February 24, 1961, the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry filed a petition with the NLRB's Regional Office in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, seeking certification as the exclusive bargaining representative of "all journeymen plumbers, pipefitters, pipefitter welders and pipefitter helpers employed by Daniel Construction Company, Inc., performing plumbing and pipefitting building and construction work in the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and Florida."

Before this application there had been much academic speculation over whether this type operation lent itself to the establishment of such a scattered bargaining unit, especially considering the extent to which it depends on transient labor.

Not only did the Board's final order grant the full six-state bargaining privileges which the union sought, but it also decreed that persons not presently employed by the company could vote in the representation election if they had worked for the company for as much as 30 days during the previous year or 45 days during the preceding two years, provided that they had worked "some" during the previous year also.

The use of mail ballots was also authorized. The union anticipated this action and so informed the employes by circular *before* the Regional Office had authorized their use.

These actions gave rise to a considerable concern from many persons, particularly on Capitol Hill. Representative Phillip M. Landrum (D-Ga.) long noted as an authority in the field of labor law and a co-author of the Landrum-Griffin Act, wrote, in a letter to the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board:

"I have read with amazement, and considerable alarm, the decision announced by the National Labor Relations Board in the case of Daniel Construction Company . . . " He expressed his particular alarm over the allowance of the mail ballot in this case and the decision to permit voting by non-employes.

If previous attempts to unionize the South had proved frustrating for union leaders, this one must have been doubly so, for even with the aid of this NLRB order the union was rejected by the workers in the representation election. This election defeat emphasizes the basic reason underlying the South's success in resisting the frequent attempts to unionize the entire area. For workers themselves once again displayed their reluctance to surrender their independence and influence to the union bosses.

ANOTHER INSTANCE of NLRB action which could hamper the further industrial growth of the South is the case of Personality Blouses of Ware Shoals, South Carolina. This firm operated a plant in Philadelphia for many years before deciding to open an additional plant in South Carolina.

The management of the company was well

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pleased with the performance of the working force in the new plant. In a brief time the operations at the Ware Shoals plant achieved peak efficiency and the merchandise produced there was the highest quality. It later developed that the Philadelphia plant could not operate competitively and in the exercise of sound business judgment the decision was made to curtail operations in Philadelphia and relocate entirely in South Carolina.

When the Philadelphia plant was closed the union which represented the workers there filed an unfair labor practice complaint with the National Labor Relations Board. The Regional Office of the NLRB in Philadelphia dismissed the complaint, but the union appealed this decision to the NLRB General Counsel who ordered the complaint reinstated.

Following a full hearing in Philadelphia, the trial examiner found that the plant closing was prompted by valid economic reasons and was not an unfair labor practice. He recommended, however, that the company negotiate with the union regarding employment of the Philadelphia workers in Ware Shoals. The union objected to the trial examiner's findings and an appeal was taken to the Board itself.

The Board confirmed the trial examiner's finding that the plant closing was prompted by valid economic reasons, yet held that the company must offer employment to the Philadelphia workers, pay their moving expenses and ordered full restitution for loss of wages.

The latter decision is incompatible with the former, and it is obvious that enforcement of this order would have dire financial consequences on any company, no matter how wealthy the company may be. This decision sets a dangerous precedent and could well have adverse effects on industrialization efforts in the South.

ONE MORE INSTANCE of arbitrary action on the part of the government has been the cancellation of a contract with the Fouke Fur Company by the Department of the Interior. The Fouke Fur Company is a fur-processing plant with its main offices and principal operations in St. Louis, Missouri.

The majority of the company's business is contract work for the government on furs from seal herds administered by the United States under the terms of treaties. The company has been performing this work for the government for ap-

NLRB Decisions Hit by Senator Thurmond

Senator Strom Thurmond (D.-S.C.), aware of the problem, has had this to say about recent NLRB decisions which have affected industrialization in the South:

"It has become apparent that a concentrated effort to halt the industrialization of the South is being implemented. The steps of this drive are receiving assistance from various branches of government, particularly the National Labor Relations Board. For years, large national labor unions have spent untold sums attempting to get workers in the Southland to join their organizations and participate in their activities. By and large, the labor unions' efforts have, until quite recently, been miserable failures.

"Now it appears that the sugar has been put aside and a stick taken in hand. The stick consists of orders of agencies of the Federal government.

"Several official actions have attested to the new drive. The National Labor Relations Board reversed standing policies and decisions by approving an operation known as the 'agency shop.' This decision, which, in my opinion, violates the National Labor Relations Act, approves as legal a requirement that employes who refuse to join a labor union, even in a state where right-to-work laws exist, can be required to pay dues to a union in order to continue to hold their jobs. This decision is in direct conflict with Section 14-b of the National Labor Relations Act.

"There has also been a ruling that a company, Personality Sportswear, Inc., which moved its operations to Ware Shoals, South Carolina, had to offer re-employment to its former employes in another state.

"In another decision, the National Labor Relations Board violated all precedents by establishing a unit for a representation election in the construction industry which encompasses construction by a particular company in six states and includes not only current employes, but also former employes, even though they had worked for negligible periods in the past two years. This is the Daniel Construction Company case. This company has an office at Greenville, South Carolina.

"Because of the asserted individuality and independence of Southern workers, the national labor unions, in conjunction with the present Administration, are attempting to prevent any further industralization of the South and attempting to prevent the creation of any additional industrial jobs for Southern workers. In the Ware Shoals matter, they are attempting to deprive Southern workers of the jobs which they already have. This is a despicable development which deserves the indignant and forceful opposition of the Southern people, which I am sure it will receive. I will personally do my utmost to defeat this drive, which is designed to prevent further industrialization in the Southern states."

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proximately 40 years. However, when the company announced its intention to relocate its operations in Greenville, South Carolina, the contract with the government was cancelled effective December 31, 1962.

The news release of the Department of the Interior dated November 30, 1961, stated that "the decision to end the contract stemmed from the company's notice to the Department that it will move its operations from St. Louis to Greenville, South Carolina . . . " The news release went on to add: "In view of the extent to which the Fouke Fur Company is engaged in doing business with the government, its decision to relocate without consulting or discussing plans with the Department of the Interior, and because of the adverse impact such relocation will have on the economy of the city of St. Louis as well as the company's employes and their families, . . . the Department had no alternative but to conclude that the company does not possess the business characteristics so essential to a negotiated contract with the Federal government."

It is indeed significant that news reports revealed that the proposed move was brought to the attention of the Interior Department by Meatcutters Union Local No. 88 of St. Louis, the union representing the employes of the St. Louis plant. It is difficult to conclude that this action constituted anything other than economic coercion by the government and preferential treatment for one section of the country over another.

Should such economic sanctions through the use of the large number of government contracts become accepted practice, this could result in stringent economic control by the national government of many business decisions, affecting every section of the country.

RECENTLY, the Department of Labor made a tentative decision determining the prevailing minimum wage in the office, computing and accounting machines industry under the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act.

This Act establishes minimum requirements and conditions of employment for companies which contract directly with a government agency or department, and applies when the value of the contract exceeds $10,000. Of necessity, the Secretary of Labor is allowed some discretion in the determination under the Act, and the section of the Act which is most pertinent to this decision reads as follows:

" . . . all persons employed by the contractor . . . will be paid . . . not less than the minimum wages as determined by the Secretary of Labor to be the prevailing minimum wages for persons employed on similar work or in the particular or similar industries or groups of industries currently operating in the locality in which the materials, supplies, articles, or equipment are to be manufactured or furnished under said contract."

The MOST DISCERNING DRAW IN THESE HERE PARTS

It is clear from the wording of this Act and its legislative history that the minimum wage determination is to be restricted to particular localities, but in this tentative decision it was held that this minimum wage would be applied *throughout* the United States. This arbitrary departure from the obvious intent of Congress will result in situations where employes engaged in the same type work will be receiving different wages merely because one is working on material for the government.

If the determination were restricted to particular localities as Congress intended, this discrepancy would not exist.

These actions, when considered separately, are serious enough to give pause to worry, but when considered together indicate a concerted campaign which is clear in its implications. If the current trend continues, it could impede the steady industrial progress of the South, and result in making the South, as the late Franklin D. Roosevelt once described it, "The Nation's No. 1 Economic Problem."

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Practical Politics—VIII

Who to Hire

PICK ANY CONGRESSIONAL campaign at random. Given two or three TV stations in the district, with rates for air time about average for the nation, a candidate will sink several thousand dollars into what would be better left unsaid. Actually, many campaign managers feel the worst exposure a candidate can get is a one-minute campaign spot in prime evening time.

For several years, before the entrance of people who knew what they were talking about, campaign managers were preaching the use of the best time periods —usually those in the so-called prime evening hours of 8 to 11 P.M.

For example, a 10-second spot in prime time over a large Eastern TV station costs $325. This is just the time cost. Preparation of the spot itself (movie film or TV tape) is extra.

You can buy five or six such 10-second spots in what is called "Class D" time for the same amount. "Class D," incidentally, is in the morning when housewives are watching their favorite quiz show or soap opera while ironing or cleaning house. Sharp campaign managers have kept in mind the fact that there are more women voters in our country than men and geared a substantial portion of their campaign to winning the women's vote.

If your candidate decides to make use of TV in his campaign, avoid at all costs the stereotyped scene of your man sitting behind a desk with an American flag in the background and the walls filled with bookcases. Get him out of the film studio and into the heart of your district. If he is an incumbent, show him studying the highways that he has brought to the district, or the plants that are running full steam. If he is not an incumbent, film him with a background of slums or broken pavement—things which the viewer will relate to the incumbent the next time they drive by your city's blighted areas.

If your man is running on the ticket of a major party, contact that party's Congressional campaign committee. In the 1960 elections, as for several years past, the campaign committees of both parties produced excellent, often humorous, film clips and spots which can be obtained cheaply from their Washington headquarters.

RECOMMENDED by most professionals for the actual job of "selling" a candidate is that time-honored American institution—the advertising agency. During most campaigns about 75 per cent of the campaign kitty is spent through newspaper, billboard, pamphlet, and radio and TV advertising. With so much money ending up spent on the spoken and printed word, it makes sense to get the best professional help available for the job.

In most instances, advertising agencies will take their payment under the rebate system, much the same as travel agencies make their profit from lower prices on tickets with the difference reverting to the agency. As a result, media placement (purchase of the most effective space or time period) is handled by a professional, the cost to your campaign is no greater, and more efficient use is made of your funds.

In the matter of press relations, few amateurs are knowledgeable or proficient in writing either releases or speeches. A full-time pro, available to take advantage of your opponent's slip-of-the-tongue remark the morning after it happened, will pay for himself before the campaign is over. He can capitalize on your opponent's remarks while they are still "news" to the local papers and, at the same time, give maximum exposure to your man.

Further reasons for having professional press help are offered by county chairmen across the country, who acknowledge the off-year as a political vacuum where amateurs have no interest in treading. The excitement of the presidential campaign year is gone. Volunteers have other more pressing, so they say, commitments, and the job of "making" news is more difficult.

This is the time to hit and hit hard on every topic from nepotism to neglect, mismanagement to misrepresentation. The point is to keep your opponent's errors in front of the public week-in, week-out so that *everyone* in your district is familiar with them.

Help from Homebodies

LETTERS SERVE one purpose—they communicate ideas. More often than not, they serve only to communicate with a single person, the recipient. But in any town where a newspaper exists, no matter how small, letters can communicate ideas to whole groups of thinking people. These are the so-called "letters to the editor."

Sit down with a piece of paper and write a list of *everything* you wish to hit your opponent with (ideas —not weapons.) You'll probably end up with several dozen actions, statements and policies of the opposition that will make the average citizen boiling mad. The list having been completed, you now need a handful of people who would like to help in the campaign but for one reason or another have not been able to take an active part. Shut-ins are a perfect choice for this job.

Arm them with four or five subjects apiece, together with the names and addresses of every newspaper which is read by citizens in your area. Tell them to keep their letters short and to the point. Warn them against nastiness or vituperation which, nine times out of ten, will stop the paper from printing the letter.

They should present the situation, identify it with the opposition and close with your candidate's solution. Gentle humor with a degree of wit will amount to a more telling blow than unrestrained anger.

Your last job is to keep going once you have set up your little band of scribes. Keep going after the election; keep going during the off year; keep writing —win or lose. Your only change will be new writers, new names, new lists. Your purpose will be served, not only by spreading your message, but by the degree to which you have precipitated an active participation on the part of others. You will have provoked your writers' imagination and interest—you have made political activists of them—the ultimate goal of any campaign leader.

Next Week: Campaign Information.

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